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31 July 1961

Briefly Noted

1. Anti-Church Measures by the Polish Government: New anti-church measures undertaken by the Polish Government serve to emphasize the deepening gulf between the aims of the Gomulka regime and those of the Catholic Church in Poland. Similarly, East German measures to prevent the celebration of Kirchentag in Berlin heighten the conflict between the Communists and religious organizations everywhere in the Bloc.
2. Forced Relocations in Bulgaria: Deportations from Sofia, and presumably from other Bulgarian cities, have been taking place during May, June and July. One diplomatic mission estimates that between 3,500 and 3,000 individuals have been forcibly expelled from Sofia and that the campaign is slackening. Although the reasons for deportations are not clear, like other East European satellites, Bulgaria has chronically been plagued by an influx of peasants to the cities looking for better jobs and higher wages than are available on collective farms. Consequently, housing facilities have become even more strained.
3. History of the CPSU: We wish to call attention to an article by Leopold Labedz in the July-September issue of Survey, "CPSU History in the Remaking", which surveys some of the falsifications and distortions in the current (1959) official History of the CPSU. We also recommend, on the same subject, an article by Branko Lazitcha, "La nouvelle Histoire du Parti communiste de l'U.R.S.S.," appearing in the July-August issue of Itinéraires. Either or both of these articles provide excellent background material for editorials, review articles of the History, etc. Copies of the latter will be furnished upon request to headquarters. See Press Comment of 27 July 1961.
4. Soviet Youth in Soviet Literature: Despite all talk of the "New Soviet Man", and all such visions of the future as those contained in the CPSU Draft Program for the 22nd Congress, the Soviet people, the youth as well as the older generation, refuse to become dehumanized automatons, to develop a Communist morality idealizing labor "for the benefit of society." This refusal is evident in current Soviet literature, which constantly strains against the leash; the young writers try to describe life as they see it, even though the life they describe does not conform with official party goals. One recent reflection of the dissatisfaction of Soviet youth was Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin's Leaf of Spring. The literary trend is described in an attachment to this guidance issue. We recommend using this attachment as background material for articles and editorials in revisionist and intellectual publications, and for general use in refuting the "wave of the future" line propounded in the Soviet party program.

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411. Democratic Republic of Colombia: Community Development Program
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Background: The government of Colombia is now working on an integrated plan to promote community development at the local level, beginning with the villages. Legislative enactments and executive decrees in 1958, 1959, and 1960 gave official status to a community development program. The new plan is designed to coordinate private efforts, such as the training programs of the Coffee Growers Federation of Colombia, the office of the Director of Community Development in the national government, and the activities of local officials.

The community development program is designed to attack the basic causes of rural poverty and the socio-economic isolation of the rural population and to stimulate greater production and a higher general standard of living. The new plan emphasizes the principle of self-help and village-level initiative. Specifically, the plan calls for the national government to select two private citizens (one from each major political party) in each Department or Intendencia to visit each village within the Department or Intendencia to investigate the special needs of the village and recommend projects to a departmental-level Citizens Committee for Community Development. Such citizens committees will be formed not only at this level but at the national level as well. Paralleling the citizens committees will be governmental Community Development Councils. The concept is to bring about the maximum participation of the people in the activities and projects proposed and undertaken. Seminars will be held for members of both the governmental councils and the citizens committees to facilitate coordination between them by providing all engaged in community development with a common set of guiding principles and methodology. In addition community development project specialists will be trained who will actually work directly with the village people and, at the same time, serve as the secretaries of the Departmental level Councils. This structure indicates the care that is being taken to see that both administrative efficiency and democratic practices are maintained. The Colombian government, in other words, has determined that there shall both be the broadest possible democratic base for the program while at the same time it has tried to devise a means to insure that the program will not bog down in a morass of impractical or merely politically expedient projects. The hope is that useful activity producing tangible results will give the program maximum popular support so that the unrest and local banditry in Colombia which has provided the Communists with a means for expanding their subversive efforts will thereby be eliminated.

The Colombian government has asked for United States Peace Corps volunteers to assist in the community development program.

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412. COMMUNIST CHINA: Calculated Extermination of the Unproductive25X1C10b Elements of the Population - A Solution to Communist China's Economic
Chaos?

Background: In 1954, Peking used to speak of the existence of 600 million Chinese. In July 1961, Chen I, Communist China's Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that "to feed 650 million Chinese we have to increase production by every means, for we cannot rely on imports of grain." Since 1954, however, despite the deaths during the winter of 1960-61, the population figure has risen to nearly 700 million and the population is increasing at 2.5 to 3 percent (or about 20 million annually). This population growth would require an increase of over 11 million metric tons of grain per year just to provide 500 grams per day per person, which is the amount of grain estimated to be presently available to the population. This, together with different other types of food, furnishes a total of about 1,440 calories per day but this is the barest subsistence minimum for a Chinese peasant. A Chinese Communist nutritional study states that a peasant needs 3,000 calories per day to do his work.

Annual production figures for grain, including potatoes, were as follows:

1957 - 185 million tons (an average year's production)
 1958 - 220 million tons
 1959 - 200 million tons
 1960 - 195 million tons
 1961 - estimated to be about the same if not less than the figure for 1960.

If we add 11 million tons to the total production figure for every year since 1957, this shows that it would be necessary to grow about 230 million tons of grain in 1961 in order to provide a mere subsistence quota for the population and take care of essential industrial and fodder requirements. There will clearly be a lack, however, of about 40 million tons. The Communist regime has negotiated purchases of about 5 1/2 million tons of grain from Canada, Australia, Germany and France but will also be exporting about 750,000 tons of grain to Hong Kong, Albania, Ceylon and Cuba. The difference between what Communist China will have and the amount of grain it will normally need will amount to about 35 million tons or what is necessary to feed about 70 million people.

How is the dilemma to be solved? The answer is to be found in one of the basic axioms of Marxist dogma: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" or, to simplify the problem, let those who produce eat, the others can starve. This policy is, in effect, leading to the elimination of the old and the feeble, the maimed and the weaklings. It is a brutal application of the old theory of the survival of the fittest.

Whereas the Chinese Communists have achieved much in establishing a uniform level of subsistence and, by rationing and other measures such as communal eating have guaranteed a minimum subsistence level to all, the standard of living in China has been levelled "down". Experts have estimated that it will take 5 years of "normal" harvest conditions to bring grain

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production to the 1958 output and 10 years to restore the livestock and poultry numbers to the level they were in 1958 prior to the establishment of the communes. It is dubious, therefore that the regime can, within the next few years, overcome its own ineptitude as well as natural disasters to raise agricultural production to the point where it could provide the entire population with an adequate diet and can forestall a recurrence of malnutrition on a sizeable scale.

Chinese Communist propaganda publicizes their "happy homes" for the aged; in fact, however, these homes are but places where the old may wither away. Numerous letters from the mainland attest to the plight of the old and weak: inhumanly scant provisions are made for these elderly, relatively unproductive members of the new Chinese society; consequently, the prevalence of disease, and suffering, as well as the death rate probably is much higher among the old now than was the case prior to the institution of the commune system.

Medical experts estimate that 20 to 30 percent of the population is afflicted with oedema and that malnutrition has already taken the lives of one out of every five persons over the age of 55. Hepatitis, dropsy, beri beri, amoebic dysentery, gastro-enteritis and tuberculosis are spreading rapidly. The future generation will have a hard time overcoming the difficulties of this period.

Many conditions created by the Chinese Communist system help to worsen conditions and spread disease. The epidemic of hepatitis, which began in 1960, was caused by the system of communal feeding instituted in Shanghai and by the fact that the hepatitis virus spread easily among children herded together in kindergartens while their mothers were working. This problem has been recognized by the Chinese Communists. An article in People's Daily on 2 February 1961 says: "The sanitary problem of communal messhalls has created a major problem in safeguarding the health of the masses." Another article in Kuang Ming Daily on 15 November 1960 said: "Messhall cooks have instituted a system for preventing three things from being cooked as food, namely unclean grain, unclean vegetables and the meat of animals having died of disease or hunger." The sale of meat from animals having died of disease or hunger has been confirmed. There have also been a number of cases alleging attempts to sell human flesh disguised as beef or pork.



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414. Moscow Declaration and Berlin Crisis

Background: The Moscow Declaration (See Item #327, Sino-Soviet Tensions: The Moscow Manifesto, dated 19 December) the most authoritative document of the World Communist Movement since the preceding declaration of 1957 which had been adopted in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, furnishes a rationale for Khrushchev's current offensive against the West in Berlin. Its principal assertions, relevant in this context, are:

- a. The world-wide victory of communism over capitalism, imperialism and colonialism is inevitable:
"Our time...is a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system....of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale;"
- b. The US is the principal obstacle impeding this inevitable victory:
"The United States remains the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism....U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction...it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world;"
- c. Western Germany is the principal accomplice of US imperialism:
"The imperialist forces of the U.S.A., Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West German imperialism... The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West German imperialism is increasing.... Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe. "
- d. The "threat" of West Berlin must therefore be abolished:
"In the opinion of Communists the task which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to...conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, thwart the aggressive designs of the West German revanchists.... "
- e. The Communists are confident that they will win this (or any other) struggle because:
"The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers" and the world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time. "
- f. While the Communists do not consider war to be "fatally inevitable" (provided the rest of the world submits peacefully to their peremptory demands), they are convinced of emerging victorious from any military conflict:
"But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it. "

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ADDENDUM

Item #414 - See Item #327, 19 December 1961 and Item #350 , 13 February 1961.

ATTACHMENT: Trends of Opinion in the Soviet Younger Generation

Foreign Radio and Press Reaction to President Kennedy's
Speech on Berlin Crisis (FBIS Daily Report Supplement
World Reaction Series, Thursday, 27 July 1961)

CROSS-INDEX

- 411. Democratic Reform in Latin America - The Columbian Community Development Program - D, P.
- 412. COMMUNIST CHINA: Calculated Extermination of the Unproductive Elements of the Population - A Solution to Communist China's Economic Chaos? - A, P, L, V.
- 413. Not Used.
- 414. Moscow Declaration and Berlin Crisis - C, E, R.

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DAILY REPORT

THURSDAY
27 JULY 1961

SUPPLEMENT

World Reaction Series

NO. 4 -- 1961

FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION
TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S SPEECH
ON BERLIN CRISIS

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Foreign Broadcast Information Service

FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION
TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S SPEECH
ON THE BERLIN CRISIS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY	i
NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES	1
West Europe	1
Asia and the Far East	4
Middle East and Africa	6
Latin America (except Cuba)	6
SINO-SOVIET BLOC AND CUBA	7
USSR	7
East European Satellites	8
Communist China	10
Cuba	11
YUGOSLAVIA	11

S U M M A R Y

NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Available noncommunist radio and press reaction to President Kennedy's speech on the Berlin crisis is generally favorable, with West European commentators stressing both the firmness of the American position and the expressed desire for negotiations. Far Eastern commentators also praise Kennedy's statement as an indication that the United States will show determination in resisting communism throughout the world. Middle Eastern and Latin American radios widely report the speech but offer little comment.

SINO-SOVIET BLOC

Soviet commentators generally assess President Kennedy's 25 July speech as an attempt to justify a new armaments race with the pretext that West Berlin is threatened by the Soviet Union. Noting that the President presented an extensive program of military preparations, Moscow's domestic service says that he tried to present this step as a reply to the Soviet aide-mémoire on Germany and to the increased Soviet military expenditures, but that he had to admit that the United States had actually begun to increase its military strength considerably earlier. The President's remarks on willingness to negotiate outstanding issues have so far been avoided in domestic service comment, and only one broadcast notes other than the "bellicose" aspects of the speech, saying that the President concluded by giving reassurances of the United States' peaceful aspirations. Only very brief commentaries on the speech have appeared so far in the Soviet domestic service, but it is reported that Moscow papers carry "detailed" accounts of it.

Satellite transmitters in general criticize the atmosphere of "war hysteria" in Kennedy's speech and accuse him of maintaining an unrealistic position regarding West Berlin. Only East Germany emphasizes the President's remarks about negotiations, with commentators predicting, in the words of Ulbricht, that "there will be no fighting" for West Berlin.

The small amount of monitored Peking comment follows the Soviet line, charging that the President is using the West Berlin crisis as an excuse for intensified war preparations.

I. NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A. West Europe

Great Britain: The press review of the BBC's general overseas service on 27 July indicates that Kennedy's Berlin statement was the main subject of comment. While all papers quoted support the President, generally the emphasis was on the willingness to negotiate. The DAILY TELEGRAPH says there was more emphasis on negotiation than Kennedy's European critics had expected. The DAILY HERALD says that it was more than a defiant speech--there were hopeful passages in which the President made it clear that America is willing to negotiate. There is also a note of disappointment that the President was not more explicit in indicating what areas were negotiable.

The GUARDIAN writes: "Mr. Khrushchev has not said that he intends to seize West Berlin by force. What he has said is that he intends to hand over Soviet responsibility for supervision of Western access to the East German Government. The greatest weakness in President Kennedy's speech is that he made no positive suggestion for dealing with that limited threat." The DAILY HERALD asks what an acceptable solution to the Berlin problem is and suggests that a clue to Kennedy's ideas would have been helpful. The TIMES says that the speech was hardly the kind to give a clear definition of what sort of talk would be considered useful. But the door was left open wider than before for Russia to come forward. The TIMES believes that the search for peace could be conducted through quiet exploratory talks even while the long-range debate is still thundering.

BBC also broadcasts man-in-the-street interviews with London citizens, who generally voice approval of Kennedy's stand. A British Foreign Office spokesman is quoted by AFP as stating that the "British Government shares the American Government's readiness to negotiate on the German problem with the Soviet Government on a reasonable basis."

West Germany: All West German news media give heavy play to the President's speech. West German television and several radio stations carry the complete speech on 26 July. All West German papers carry extensive reportage and comment on the speech and several papers carry the full text. West German press and radio commentaries stress gratification concerning the President's Berlin stand and the firm leadership he has assumed in the political offensive against the Soviet threat. Richard Thilenius, over Radio Frankfurt, comments that the President's great speech can only be termed an "admirable document" on

the strength and determination as well as the flexibility and responsibility of U.S. policy. He concludes that after this "masterful address" an aggravation of the Berlin crisis may be avoided if Moscow desires.

Reinhard Gerdes over Radio Mainz calls the speech defensive in the military field but offensive politically. Wolf Rochlage, also over Radio Mainz, maintains that Chancellor Adenauer desires to place the accent of the speech on its warnings to the Soviet Union. Max Schulze-Vorberg, a Radio Munich commentator, believes the free West has started a political diplomatic offensive while staying defensive militarily.

While the West German press on 26 July concentrates on reporting the military measures announced in the speech, the press on 27 July acclaims the speech as a historic document. All papers are gratified with the President's Berlin stand and express the realization that this will also mean greater sacrifices for the German people, which they must be willing to make. Such headlines as "Yes to Kennedy," used by the Berlin daily B.Z., or "The West Is Firmly Behind Kennedy," in the BERLINER MORGENPOST, reflect the opinion of the West German press. The Berlin progovernment paper TAGESSPIEGEL points to the unprecedented clarity and determination of the President's brief and pregnant formulations on the manifold role of Berlin. The Berlin paper B.Z. says it was the most determined speech an American president ever made for freedom.

An official West German spokesman, quoted by AFP, states that President Kennedy's speech was received in Bonn with "great satisfaction" and "gratitude." The spokesman particularly praised the "firmness, precision, and balance" shown in the talk, noting that the United States had set forth its position firmly but had left the door open for negotiation. The West German DPA reports that Bonn government circles have described the statement as clearly strengthening the West in regard to the imminent Berlin crisis and demonstrating the leading role played by the United States in the Western alliance. West Berlin Mayor Brandt is quoted by DPA as thanking President Kennedy for the "firmness with which he has supported the rights of the allies and people" of West Berlin.

France: Radio Paris comments that President Kennedy reaffirmed the American position with "vigor and determination" and a "tone of exceptional gravity." An AFP commentary observes that the "United States does not want to maintain a negative attitude" and thus is "taking concrete, immediate, and long-term measures to strengthen its defensive system and that of the free world." French Government circles, according to AFP, have stressed that the firmness of the U.S. President fully accords with the French position.

Italy: The Italian paper TEMPO, reviewed by Radio Rome, describes the address as "one of the firmest speeches made in the past few years from the White House." Other Italian papers, including IL POPOLO and L'AVANTI, stress that while Kennedy showed firmness and determination he also expressed a desire for negotiation. IL QUOTIDIANO says the speech was "full of dramatic material but not essentially pessimistic." IL MESSAGGERO sees no alarmist psychosis in the United States. The communist UNITA says that Kennedy has personally assumed responsibility for further inflating war hysteria.

Austria: The Austrian radio and press give great prominence to Kennedy's address. The radio broadcasts extensive summaries of the speech and news reports on favorable Western reaction but does not comment. Austrian noncommunist press reaction is favorable, with headlines emphasizing Kennedy's determination to defend Berlin and to fight rather than surrender and, to a lesser degree, his continued readiness to negotiate. Only the communist VOLKSSTIMME reacts negatively, summing up the speech as "saber rattling" and an attempt to use the Berlin problem as a pretext for an increased armaments race. Long press summaries of the speech highlight the President's announcement of increased arms spending, his argument that the fate of the whole free world rather than that of Berlin alone is at stake, and his statement that the United States will "resist with force" if force is used against it.

The independent OBEROESTERREICHISCHE NACHRICHTEN considers the President's hints at readiness to negotiate on certain aspects of the Berlin question the key point of the whole speech. It believes them to be a reply to Khrushchev's suggestion that European security be discussed and an indication that Kennedy is ready to make concessions regarding Western propaganda and intelligence activities in West Berlin. An independent PRESSE editorial hails Kennedy for having taken up the "often-demanded Western leadership in an acute crisis."

An editorial in the socialist ARBEITER-ZEITUNG welcomes Kennedy's "strong and courageous words" as well as his actions, which were "probably not expected by those who have recently accused him of excessive leniency." The paper considers the current military preparations to be moves in the war of nerves rather than genuine war preparations, but it voices regret that "a development is being initiated which at some future stage might escape the control of the statesmen."

Switzerland: Among several Swiss papers welcoming President Kennedy's firmness, the Basel NATIONALZEITUNG states that he demanded from the American people the sacrifices needed to ward off the worldwide threat from the East and fearlessly accepted Khrushchev's challenge, being aware that "what is at stake above all is to stand up to a test of nerves." Kennedy aroused no illusions and put the situation in a

realistic light, the paper adds. BASLER NACHRICHTEN, on the other hand, wonders whether Khrushchev might conclude from the speech that the Americans' will to resist is not to be taken so very seriously. In another article the paper says West German officials were struck by Kennedy's offer to negotiate with the USSR--which might require "greater sacrifices of Germany policy." U.S. allies in Europe are particularly favorable to the offer to negotiate, stresses the GAZETTE DE LAUSANNE. The JOURNAL DE GENEVE writes that the military buildup asked by the President aims at strengthening NATO in such a manner as "not to provoke the Soviet side to indulge in a military walkover through weakness."

Scandinavia: The Swedish paper SVENSKA DAGBLADET points to the seriousness of both Kennedy's warnings to the USSR and his assurances of U.S. willingness to cooperate in a peaceful solution. STOCKHOLMS-TIDNINGEN, also lauding this assertion of readiness to negotiate, emphasizes the President's "outspoken understanding of Soviet security problems." The speech does not indicate, however, whether the United States and West Germany are willing to pay the price for an atom-free zone in central Europe, the paper adds.

A Radio Copenhagen commentary questions the seriousness of the military measures announced by President Kennedy, suggesting that he does not expect a military crisis in Berlin but is merely effecting an arms reorganization he considered necessary before assuming the presidency. The United States is arming for negotiations on Berlin, the commentary says, but for negotiations that can be carried out during limited military operations, thus escaping the choice between capitulation or atomic war. The President felt compelled to express readiness to negotiate on Berlin, the broadcast adds, because the recent Western notes to the USSR indicated unwillingness to negotiate on anything but German reunification.

B. Asia and the Far East

South Korea: Unconditional support for President Kennedy's "clear pronouncement" of U.S. policy on the Berlin situation, and particularly his reaffirmation of U.S. determination to defend freedom throughout the world from "communist aggression," as well as pledges of ROK-U.S. solidarity characterize the congratulatory messages from Gen. Pak Chong-hui and Song Yo-chang, broadcast in full by Radio Seoul within hours after the speech. In the first press comment on the speech carried by the Seoul radio, a CHOSON ILBO editorial commends the Kennedy administration for translating into positive action campaign pledges made last summer. The editorial goes on to voice the hope that other Western powers will develop a "unity of views and action" along the line set by the President, and regards as "significant" the fact that Kennedy has left the door open to Khrushchev for negotiations.

Nationalist China: An anonymous press commentary aired by Radio Taipei applauds the firm stand taken by the United States as a "guarantee of world peace" and a "course of action taken by the democratic bloc in the cold war with determination instead of meekness." At the same time, the commentator wonders whether other NATO nations will back up this firm stand, "especially the vacillating and opportunistic Britain, whose meek attitude toward Berlin has already aroused the resentment of the United States."

Australia: Australian papers, according to the Melbourne radio, express themselves in favor of Kennedy's "straight talking and the action being taken to back up his words," with equal emphasis given to Kennedy's willingness to negotiate and preparedness to resist aggression. While the ADELAIDE ADVERTISER notes that the "full risk" of a nuclear war is "inescapable," the MELBOURNE AGE sees two alternatives to an all-out nuclear war: Negotiations around a table or minor aggression with conventional weapons. The paper believes that Kennedy should offer a new basis for negotiation, a more concrete proposal for peaceful discussion. An optimistic note is sounded by the SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, which says Khrushchev, unlike Hitler, is a realist and does not want to risk a nuclear war, but warns that the real peril lies in that he may go ahead with his plans in the belief that the West would not dare resort to nuclear war. A newspaper commentator quoted by the Melbourne radio labels the speech "an unmistakably grave and clear warning" to the Soviet Union and "a constructive message which opened the door wide to peaceful negotiation of East-West differences."

Japan: Extensive Japanese press and radio comment on Kennedy's speech views it as an even stronger expression of determination to meet American commitments in Berlin at any cost while still leaving the door open for negotiations with the Soviets. All commentators are impressed by the determination marking the President's words, but some regret that both the United States and the Soviet Union tend more and more toward the principle of "power against power." MAINICHI notes that "both Kennedy and Khrushchev left the door open for negotiations through diplomatic channels." The JAPAN TIMES justifies the proposed American arms buildup on the basis of the Soviet threats but regrets the obvious setback to disarmament hopes. Several editorials appeal to the Soviet Union to abandon its aggressive tactics. The Japanese Communist Party publication AKAHATA charges President Kennedy with deliberately opening up the arms race for the purpose of increasing international tension and stimulating the U.S. economy.

The ruling Liberal-Democratic Party and the government regard U.S. determination to face the Berlin crisis with increased military power as a "natural reaction" to recent Soviet threats, the KYODO agency reports. The Socialists, however, are critical of Kennedy's attitude and say it will deepen the East-West conflict over Berlin, the agency says. Hiroo Wada, chief of the Socialist Party's International Bureau, said over a nationwide Japanese radio and television hookup that both

the United States and Russia should continue to make efforts to ease world tension by peaceful means and not by force of arms. A Japanese Foreign Office statement, carried by the Tokyo JAPAN TIMES, emphasized that "Japan strongly hopes that the freedom of West Berlin will be protected by peaceful means."

C. Middle East

Arab World and Israel: Arab transmitters offer no comment on the speech but generally report, in varying detail, the main points brought out by Mr. Kennedy. Virtually all note the President's request to Congress for additional defense funds, and report Adenauer's satisfaction with the speech. Of the UAR radios, Damascus gives twice as much coverage as Cairo. It carries a five-minute resume of the speech along with two briefer reports, one in a Hebrew-language newscast, as well as reporting congressional approval and British support. Both Damascus and Cairo note the TASS comment that Kennedy used the alleged threat to Berlin as justification for the arms race. Cairo's only brief report on the speech comes in its early morning newscast 26 July. Baghdad, giving a slightly longer summary, also refers to the TASS reaction, and cites an Iraqi press headline that "Adenauer declares his submission to American imperialism." Beirut radio gives a six-minute resume in addition to a shorter report, while Amman, Mecca, and Sana radios carry only short single references.

The Israeli radio, giving several brief accounts of the speech, also broadcasts recorded excerpts, calling attention to the "warlike tone" of Kennedy's address and observing that the speech apparently reflects the recent consultations of the American National Security Council. The radio also reports the TASS comment.

Greece, Turkey, Iran: In addition to an AFP summary of the Kennedy statement, Athens radio reports Western reaction, noting that official Paris circles have described the speech as "militant" and as saying it makes clear to the USSR that the West will not hesitate to defend West Berlin. Broadcasting a brief summary of the speech, Ankara also reports favorable Western reaction in several items, pointing out French, British, and West German support. Of a.L. Middle East transmitters, Teheran gives by far the most coverage, carrying not only a 24-minute version of the speech but three "Topic of the Day" talks devoted to the subject, as well as considerable reportage describing the warm reception at home and approval abroad from Western press and official circles. Introducing a talk on possible Russian reaction, the radio calls the Kennedy message "still one of the most important subjects under discussion by world political circles."

D. Latin America (except Cuba)

While Latin American transmitters have been prompt in reporting Kennedy's speech, emphasizing his call for an increase in the military budget, there has been little monitored comment.

Chile: As a result of Kennedy's request for additional military appropriations, says Radio Santiago's commentator, the U.S. military budget is "the biggest in the history of the United States and the entire world. Radio Valparaiso, in a Washington-dated item without source identification, observes that Kennedy clearly sought to achieve a "psychological effect," and it asks what practical results are caused by increasing the armed forces by a mere 200,000. For years the United States has been "dancing to the tune played by the Russians," says the radio, adding that the United States will now begin to show "some initiative in dealing with the Soviets."

Radio Panama commentator Carrasco on the morning of 26 July notes that the Cubans, who were preparing a surprise for the world on the Castro anniversary, were themselves dealt a surprise, as were communist elements throughout Latin America. With the United States on a "war footing," he says, the threat now is "not so much from Cuba toward the United States, but from the United States toward Cuba."

II. SINO-SOVIET BLOC AND CUBA

A. USSR

Soviet reaction to President Kennedy's speech follows the lines of an initial TASS report which asserts that the President merely "chose the so-called threat to West Berlin as an excuse to justify the arms race" as part of a previously conceived U.S. military buildup. PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA are reported by TASS and the domestic service to have published "detailed" accounts of the speech, IZVESTIYA's version being carried under the headline "On Old Positions."

TASS commentator Orlov asserts that the West Berlin question, "deliberately inflated by Western propaganda, is being used by U.S. ruling quarters to speed up realization of plans mapped out long ago-- during the first days of the new administration, or probably even by its predecessors." He charges that U.S. military buildup plans antedated both the new West Berlin crisis and the Soviet announcement on increased military outlays. "If there were no West Berlin problem," Orlov says, "imperialist quarters would simply have invented an excuse for stepping up the armaments race just to try to solve, with its help, the internal and external problems besetting the United States and its partners in the North Atlantic bloc." Washington apparently has decided to use an old formula, trying to spur the slow revival of the U.S. economy after a prolonged slump by injecting large military preparations. Regarding some of the external implications of the U.S. stand, Orlov cites a New York TIMES comment that the new plan is primarily aimed not at defense of the former German capital but at increasing the ability of the Western allies to wage any kind of war in any part of the world. What is meant, Orlov remarks, is "active opposition to the national

liberation movement in Africa, Asia, and Latin America," for only this can explain the words of the President about the need for creating a "sea and airlift capable of moving forces quickly and in large numbers to any part of the world."

Radio Moscow commentator Vavilov notes in a widely beamed broadcast that the President--in times of peace--requested an increase in military expenditures thrice in the past six months. There have been only two instances when U.S. military expenditures have increased at such an unheard-of rate--during World War II and during the Korean war--he says, "but now there is no war. There is peace. Nobody is attacking the United States and nobody intends to launch an attack against it." People who are free of prejudice can form only one opinion, he avers--that "the United States is openly preparing for war." Vavilov urges that it is "now more than ever necessary that every statesmen handle international problems soberly and realistically" and that "commonsense must be the keynote in the solution of international problems." He concludes with the warning that "if a third world war breaks out, no ocean will protect America. It is very dangerous to play with fire in the age of hydrogen bombs and ballistic rockets. If the United States sincerely desires peace it must abandon the destructive arms race policy."

TASS reports of the speech, in contrast to the domestic service treatment and the Vavilov commentary, note the President's remarks on the USSR's legitimate concern for its security and his willingness to negotiate outstanding issues. However, they charge that the President's words on negotiation are "drowned out by his military program" and obscured by his failure to put forward any proposals on the admittedly abnormal situation in Germany.

TASS briefly reports former Vice President Nixon's statement in Los Angeles, which supported Kennedy and urged his administration "to crush the Cuban revolution, to resume nuclear testing, to push the fight against Communist China's U.N. admission, and to postpone realization of the nonmilitary programs of the United States."

B. East European Satellites

East Germany: East German transmissions devote proportionately more attention to the speech than the other satellites. They condemn it to the extent that it deals with military measures, but they see something positive in the statement recognizing the USSR's need for security. Commentator Schultze-Walden describes the speech as "empty propaganda" meant only to bolster the "shaky unity" of the West and to obtain a better position for negotiations. He assures German listeners that Kennedy "well knows that he cannot and will not wage war for West Berlin," much as Adenauer and Strauss would like him to, and there is therefore "not the slightest reason for panic." They know in Washington that "a conventional war in the heart of Europe would certainly turn into a nuclear war, a risk no U.S. government can take."

An East Berlin domestic service comment stresses that "if we look at Kennedy's speech for points that make for understanding and not for estrangement, we find that this speech confirms what Walter Ulbricht said just three weeks ago: 'There will be no fighting, but negotiations on West Berlin. There will be agreements.' Kennedy was compelled to agree that there are actual irritants and elements of friction in West Berlin. He reiterated that the United States is ready to eliminate these irritants." Commentators maintain that the speech has caused some uneasy stirring in Bonn officialdom, and ADN says West Berlin Mayor Brandt was forced to falsify a portion of the speech concerning Kennedy's "possible readiness to negotiate."

Gerhard Kegel, a GDR Foreign Ministry official, comments over East German television that the United States cannot intimidate the Soviet Union with Kennedy's new armament demands. Kegel doubts Kennedy's sincerity, believing that the real reason behind the President's measure is the increase in profits to be gained by the monopolies. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND regrets that the President in his "contradictory" speech did not withdraw from the ultras who have been demanding military demonstrations. The paper comments that it is a dangerous policy to dwell to such a great extent on increased armaments. BERLINER ZEITUNG echoes the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND line but welcomes Kennedy's statement to the effect that as a signer of the U.N. Charter the United States will always be prepared to discuss international problems with all nations that are willing to talk and listen.

Poland: Reaction in Warsaw follows the Soviet line, the domestic service even carrying a TASS commentary on the speech. PAP reports a TRYBUNA LUDU article by Kowalewski which charges that Kennedy "spoke about increased armaments in a manner which leaves no room for interpretation, while he spoke about negotiations in a most vague manner." TRYBUNA LUDU maintains that the President's offer to negotiate is "glaringly inconsistent" with his new stage in the armaments race. "If the first military decisions are followed by others, the difficulties will grow instead of diminishing," according to the Polish paper.

Czechoslovakia: Czechoslovak papers sum up President Kennedy's speech as an effort to justify the arms race through the so-called Berlin crisis, according to CTK. Kennedy has decided to use the old prescription of huge injections of military spending to overcome economic recession, BRATISLAVA PRACA adds. Prague radio says Kennedy rejected all Soviet proposals on Germany and indicated no willingness to understand the present Berlin situation.

Hungary: A Budapest commentator tells listeners in West Europe that the speech "indicates that the American Government has passed from fostering war hysteria to overt threats of war." He maintains that Kennedy intended to step up the arms race in general and that

West Berlin is "nothing but a transparent pretext" to serve that purpose. An MFI correspondent in Washington charges Kennedy with trying to "conjure up the danger of a 'communist challenge' to rouse and alarm the American public."

Rumania: The first monitored reference to the speech over the Bucharest domestic service is a Moscow-dated item quoting TASS commentator Orlov accusing the President of saber rattling and charging that the West Berlin problem is being intentionally exaggerated by the West. The domestic service press review on 27 July carries a Washington-dated item referring to President Kennedy's speech as "a speech intended to incite war psychosis." The paper SCINTEIA on the same day carries a TASS commentary, "According to the Old Recipe," which points out the "unrealistic content" of the speech. No commentaries on the speech have been heard yet on the domestic service.

Bulgaria: Sofia in Arabic says the President resorted to "military hysteria" to conceal the fact that the United States wants to defend its "right" of "exploitation, spying, and provocation in West Berlin." He should have admitted that the U.S. leadership is "prepared to go to the very end and to throw the world in a war, even if it is a nuclear one," Radio Sofia says. In a four-minute review of the speech, Radio Sofia points to the fact that although Kennedy attempted to represent the intensification of American military preparations as an answer to the Soviet note, he admitted that the United States had begun to increase its military power much earlier. Another brief report on the speech notes that Bonn revanchists welcome it with "great joy."

Albania: There have been few monitored references to the speech from Tirana radio. On 27 July it briefly reported the President's request to Congress for more funds to increase the non-nuclear forces and the air and sea transport means, and to expand the antisubmarine weapons program.

C. Communist China

There has been little monitored Peking comment on the speech. An NCNA report in Chinese on 27 July follows the line of Soviet comment, charging that the President used the "pretext" of the Berlin crisis and other "challenges" to step up "frantic" arms expansion. The report outlines the six steps proposed by Mr. Kennedy, as well as the other major proposals contained in the speech. The Peking domestic service and an NCNA dispatch in English on the same day briefly refer to the President's "bellicose speech" and then go on to report his message to Congress asking for revision of the military budget and for authorization to call up additional reservists as part of a series of "extensive war preparations." NCNA further asserts that the announced U.S. arms expansion has "greatly pleased the munitions monopolists," and notes the rise in prices of certain shares on the New York Stock Exchange.

D. Cuba

There is no original comment from Cuba on the speech. Havana's Radio Progreso carries the first TASS report on the speech, and PRENSA LATINA carries a brief reference to it without comment.

III. YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslav foreign-language broadcasts stress Kennedy's intention to build up U.S. armed forces and also note his expression of readiness to negotiate. A TANYUG dispatch claims that the President intensified the U.S. "war psychosis" and that the country is in an unproclaimed state of alert. Asserting that Kennedy failed to specify what remains to be negotiated regarding Berlin, the dispatch attributes the President's vagueness on negotiations to lack of agreement on strategy among Washington, London, and Paris. Belgrade radio also observes that while the President was "clear when laying down military objectives," he was "vague in dealing with U.S. readiness for negotiations" with the USSR on eastern and central Europe.

TRENDS OF OPINION IN THE SOVIET YOUNGER GENERATION

Soviet youth, as depicted in current Russian literature, in the main accepts the political and social system which it has inherited but is unresponsive to the creed on which the system is based. The philosophically minded are concerned with finding a more satisfactory reason for existence than is offered in the slogans of the Communist party. Others are increasingly frank in demanding material benefits now, in place of the vague rewards of the Communist future. In an effort to deal with this unresponsiveness the regime has sought to increase discipline among the youth by raising requirements for labor training in the educational system. Further, Komsomol activity has been stepped up. But neither of these actions seems to have strengthened youth's allegiance to official party goals.

Despite Khrushchev's chastisement of Soviet writers in 1957, the nonconformist authors have continued to try to expand the province of Soviet literature. Obedient to Khrushchev's injunction to leave fault-finding to the party, they have, in the main, ceased writing the exposes of Soviet life in fictional form which enlivened the literature of the early 1950s, and have shifted their efforts to understanding and describing their fellow man.

The regime has long demanded that writers concentrate on inspiring enthusiasm for the socialist system and "education" readers to conform to its requirements. Efforts to move beyond the individual's public duty to the state and portray his private emotional life are regarded at best as a waste of the state's resources and at worst as subversive. Nevertheless, this private emotional life preoccupies the most promising of the young Soviet writers, both because of their own inclinations and because of the enthusiastic response of their readership.

In the face of harsh strictures from critics, the continued appearance of such subjective works in major literary magazines suggests the existence of a receptive readership as well as of editorial boards anxious to increase circulation. Moreover, their popularity appears to infect even the more conformist writers. The more lifelike characters with which the conformists have attempted to meet the challenge of the nonconformists are often inadvertently as revealing of Soviet attitudes as are the work of their rivals. Together, the two groups of writers present a picture of an important element of Soviet youth as it sees itself.

This picture, however, does not encompass the large mass of conformists who accept the system as they find it and learn to live with it. Nor does it reflect the extreme nonconformists whose ideas, too unconventional for public print, occasionally circulate in handwritten manuscripts or in small groups of trusted friends. What it does portray is a middle group of bright young people from whom the future leaders will probably be drawn, and to the regime's obvious concern, this group apparently is failing to respond to the dream of a Communist future.

Search for Life's Meaning

Within this group, Soviet youth accepts the system it has inherited, but apparently finds the accompanying creed sterile. It is deeply concerned with finding a reason for existence.

Considering the regime's 40 years of militant atheism, religion surprisingly often is suggested as a possible answer. Frequently, it appears as an early hope which later fails. In Save Our Souls* by B. S. Lvov, a son, grief-stricken at the loss of his father, searches for the meaning of life. After the failure of his school and of a well-meaning but doctrinaire aunt to help him, he enters a theological seminary but is disillusioned there also. In the end he is "rescued" by the Komsomol. However, the author makes no pretense that the Komsomol can provide him with the answer to his question.

Occasionally, religion turns out to be the answer. In The Torch a "good" character is revealed as an able student and much-decorated hero of World War II who entered the priesthood on his discharge from the army. "Among the partisans I saw a priest. He fought and died like a soldier. He knew just what to say to people. After all, I have seen during the war, I too came to know what to say to people; I came to understand what it was they needed most--comfort, that is, faith. And now I am needed."

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Many other writers portray the same search without reference to religion. The 18-year-old of V. Nikitin's Thaw Lands goes to the remote polar regions to "build communism." He is soon disillusioned: "What common cause am I serving? What new life am I building? I am simply digging trenches....Is this what I dreamed of, what I am meant to do with my life? Why did I study for ten years?...It begins to appear that I shall never understand why I am living....It is becoming awful."

In The Difficult Test by N. Dubov, another youngster is repelled by the deceit and injustice in the factory. He is also shaken by the cynicism and greed of a prominent party member's son. "Greenhorn! Are you trying to convert me? You needn't. I know more about communism than you do. They are still constructing it, but I have already reached the Communist stage--I receive according to my needs. Work! Do you think I am a beast of burden--a donkey?"

In his search for a faith, the "greenhorn" receives understanding and sympathy from a Baptist worker: "The young don't know what to do with themselves. Their daily bread is assured, but that isn't enough. Having fed the body, man strives to feed the soul, but he finds no spiritual food, so he wanders in the darkness of crude sensual pleasures. It is impossible to quench spiritual thirst. And this thirst dries man out, makes him callous and indifferent to others."

Attempts by the conformist writers to fulfill this spiritual thirst often appear awkward. An experienced party leader in Vasily Aksenov's Colleagues is asked: "What are those glittering heights (of communism)? They're too abstract." He dreams of the future of his small town in the icy north-western USSR: "Soon the small town will become the big town of Kruglogorsk. Our children will drive their motors with atomic energy. And so an endless chain of progress will reach forward into the future; bright houses with enormous windows will be reflected in the warm waters of the lake, palms will wave their branches, and glass automobiles will speed back and forth over broad white highways."

Another writer, climaxing the story of a sea captain, found the reason for his continued existence in the need of his ship to transport a record load of caviar.

The Individual

A large group of stories is devoted to probing man's mind, describing relationships between individuals without attempting moral judgments. Yuri Kazakov in The Apostate presents a buoy-keeper on the river, a braggart, drunkard, and loafer, who has a beautiful voice. Visiting travelers, listening to him sing, "forget his roughness and stupidity, his drunkenness and boastings, the long journey behind them, and their fatigue." For the singer, however, the point of existence is not the pleasure he can bring others, but singing itself. The author's assertions of the validity of being, regardless of contributions to society, is reminiscent of Hemingway's Old Man and the Sea, which has enjoyed extraordinary popularity in the USSR.

Other Values

The search for the meaning of life has led to a re-examination of other values beyond the simplified Communist code of contribution to the state. In Nihilist a young poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, contrasts a youth who dressed in narrow trousers, liked Picasso, and daringly read early Hemingway, with the "honest production workers" who called him a nihilist. The youth dies rescuing a comrade and the poet asks which was the nihilist.

Vladimir Tendryakov's Court of Justice contrasts the efforts of three men to clear their consciences with a socialist court of law which is swayed by political influence and willing to convict the innocent in order to clear court records.

Skepticism

The Komsomol daily newspaper recently complained that the schools, by failing to "explain the contradiction between what is written and what is seen in

*All novels, short stories, and plays cited here, with the exception of "Continuation of a Legend," have been published within the last two years.

in daily life," are breeding "cynics, hypocrites, and demagogues." In The Difficult Test an old worker tells the questioning hero, "Brother, you have to work out everything with your own mind. Otherwise, they will tell you today that a thing is white, you will believe them, and tomorrow that the same thing is black and again you will believe them.... Or worse still, you will no longer believe anyone. And that is the end of everything when a person does not believe in anything."

A newly graduated doctor in Colleagues protests: "If only you know how sick I am of all that cant, all those high-sounding phrases. It's not only the vast multitude of idealists like you that uses them, but just as vast a multitude of rascals. Beria probably talked like that to deceive the party. Now that our eyes have been opened, that blab doesn't go. Let's do without it. I love my country and all it stands for and would give my life, legs, arms for it without flinching, but for that I answer only to myself, to my conscience, and I don't need any cheering on. It only confuses a person."

This frank skepticism sometimes extends to the Communist party itself. In Aleksandr Shteyn's Ocean, a character explains why he does not join the party: "I want to say yes when I think it necessary to say yes, and no when I think it necessary to say no. If I join the party, I shall have to say yes when I want to say no and no when I ought to say yes."

The secretary of the regional party committee in Aleksandr Chakovsky's The Roads We Choose describes a party colleague thus: "Seers were high priests in ancient Egypt. They deluded the people who believed them. But when they met each other, they could not refrain from exchanging knowing glances, winking at each other as if to say 'We know all about this game.' That's what smirnov is--a Soviet seer."

Materialism

Valentin Ovechkin warned in It is Time to Reap the Fruits of the increasingly materialistic outlook of youth. The "bad" brother says: "Why didn't I go to the country" To drag up some backward farm? Let each live according to his merits.... Was it easy for me to get a high education? Stone and iron will not bear what I have borne as a boy. With my teeth I got out of life what is mine." His wife agrees: "Our fathers suffered enough in order for us to have a good life. Sacrifices, difficulties, shortages--when will it all end?.... It is time to reap the fruits which have been sown." The hero can only splutter helplessly: "One should know how to fight your kind of people.... I'm boiling with rage, but I don't really know how to answer.... It's time to reap the harvest, but it's time, too, that people of that kind don't dirty our land."

The young critic Stanislav Rassadin in The Sixties, a non-fictional article on current Soviet literature, attempted to justify the frankly material motives of many Soviet youths. He quotes a young tractor driver in Kazakhstan: "There is a lad in a book I once read who gives up his money, gives up his house, sleeps in a tent, and goes about in overalls... and at work he cracks one record after another like sunflower seeds. But if I have nowhere to live, I can't do my work properly. And I may look young, but I have a wife and two kids. They've got to eat, haven't they? So there you are. No, don't argue with me, mate, it's just a lot of bragging." Rassadin concludes that in the USSR's "current stage of development," youth's revulsion from the storied selflessness of the older generation is right and natural.

For those who feel they cannot afford the luxury of such frankness, there has developed what Komsomolskaya Pravda describes as the "umbrella mentality" -- the ability to parrot the appropriate phrases and even to go through the appropriate motions of "agitating" in public, while privately living by an entirely different code. In Colleagues, a reprehensible character who takes bribes and uses influence to get a soft job is asked: "Wasn't it your article I read a little while ago about labor discipline?" No whit disconcerted, he replies: "Well, I've got to retrieve my reputation somehow." Publication of the story predated the press exposure this spring of a real-life counterpart--a Moscow student, Komsomol member, model activist, and head of his institute's circle for extracurricular study of political economy, who had also found time to engage in large-scale black-marketeering.

U N C L A S S I F I E D

Class Antagonisms

The nonconformists in their published works have been less concerned with material inequities than with man's inner life. The conformist publicists, however, have provided some startling glimpses of class antagonisms in the "classless" Soviet society.

In the highly praised Continuation of a Legend by Anatoly Kuznetsov, published in July 1957--the hero, a teen-ager in school, goes to visit a glamorous classmate who receives more in monthly pocket money than the hero's mother can make in a month as a seamstress. His confusion and embarrassment when confronted with her wealthy home and snobbish mother, and his own recognition of the deep gulf between them, eventually develop into hostility, for "her kind." "Yes, now I see, we are enemies.... Thus be prepared. We are going to annihilate you. Everything in the world is just in the stage of a beginning. In life there is a lot of fighting waiting for us. Our generation is only entering that period." These words, the closing lines of the story, are addressed, not to the aristocrats of Tsarist Russia, but to "comrades" 40 years after the revolution.

Since wealth in the USSR usually follows education, the stereotype of the simple wholesome masses is a strong one. Villains are either those with higher education or sophisticated city dwellers, preferably both.

In Vil Lipatov's Wild Mint resentment of higher education is especially noticeable. Not only is the villain a highly trained young engineer who attempts to sabotage the work of the simple lumbermen, apparently out of pure malice, but two otherwise inoffensive teen-agers fulfilling their work obligation before going on to college are also objects of dislike. They offer their specialized knowledge to make repairs without which the team cannot meet its work quota but are contemptuously refused. "What scientific terms they use, not just 'coil,' like any ordinary worker would say, but 'induction coil.'" The hero sneers and "eyes the lads with hatred. Dolled themselves up! In ski suits and leather ankle-boots and wearing ties with those snow-white shirts under their jackets. 'Sissies.'"

International Brotherhood

Notably lacking in this picture of Soviet youth is any suggestion of the international brotherhood of the working class, or of a hostile outside world. On the rare occasions when lands outside the USSR are mentioned, they are used chiefly to satisfy Soviet youth's deep hunger for the exotic. A young doctor in Colleagues, on receiving an assignment aboard a ship, thinks: "Like a magician performing for children, the man in the worn coat had raised a curtain and revealed a vast expanse of shimmering water. And out of the water rose a mirage--palm trees, skyscrapers, cathedral spires, pyramids. You dreamed of a life extraordinary, intense, filled with interest? And thought you would never get it? You were wrong, you see. Here, take your ticket and ride into a future as bright and entertaining as a film."

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